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Supplement 14 August 1987

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	Some articles in the Near East and South Asia Review are preliminary views of a subject or speculative, but the contents normally will be coordinated as appropriate with other offices within CIA. Occasionally an article will represent the view of a single analyst; an item like this will be designated as a	
	noncoordinated view.	

	Top Secret
Near East and	
South Asia Review	
Articles	
The Soviet Campaign Against Pakistan's Nuclear Program	
For the past few years Moscow has campaigned actively against Pakistan's nuclear weapons program, attacking it both in the press and in private demarches. Although Moscow's criticism is consistent with its longstanding desire to limit the spread of nuclear weapons, it also is exploiting the issue to its own advantage in South Asia. Soviet attacks on the Pakistani program escalate during periods of tension with Islamabad—usually over Afghanistan—and subside when Moscow is seeking improved bilateral ties. The Soviets have charged the United States with complicity in helping Pakistan develop nuclear weapons in return for Islamabad's cooperation in projecting military power into South Asia and serving as a supply base for the resistance forces in Afghanistan. Moscow hopes to press Pakistan to back away from its nuclear weapons program and, perhaps more important, to modify its policy toward Afghanistan. Moscow also is seeking to undermine US-Pakistani relations, strengthen relations with India, portray the United States as a threat to regional stability, and project an image of a respectable superpower seeking peaceful solutions to regional problems. The Soviets have demonstrated some caution in their exploitation of the issue, probably because they do not want Indo-Pakistani tensions to get out of control and because they do not want India to activate its own nuclear weapons program. If the United States cuts aid to Pakistan as a result of Islamabad's nuclear procurement activities, Moscow	will seek improved relations with Pakistan to further prospects for a favorable political settlement in Afghanistan. The Soviets might reduce their criticism of Pakistan's nuclear program but would continue to counsel restraint in Islamabad to maintain credibility in India. Should Pakistan test a nuclear device, Moscow will protest strongly and launch a major propaganda campaign against Islamabad's action. Soviet Comment on Pakistan's Nuclear Capabilities Moscow's public campaign against Pakistan's nuclea weapons program has drawn heavily on Western and Indian press reporting. In October 1985, TASS cited a Western report that Pakistan had "already created the necessary components for a nuclear bomb" and had "even tested the explosive device" to trigger the nuclear reaction. Shortly thereafter the Soviets cited Indian press reports that Pakistan had the necessary technology to produce two nuclear bombs annually.

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prospects for better relations between the United	longstanding policy of not developing nuclear	_
States and India. They may even hope to help provoke	weapons.	4
JS Congressional moves to cut aid to Pakistan.		
Soviet charges of US complicity in Pakistan's nuclear		
veapons program have been directed primarily at		
ndian audiences and have emphasized the premise		
hat Pakistan could not manufacture nuclear weapons	During the visit to India of the US	
vithout outside assistance. Moscow has charged that	Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs in	
Vashington has supplied Pakistan with the means to	August 1987, Soviet broadcasts to India were	
eliver nuclear weapons—even as it verbally	particularly harsh in their attacks on the United	
restrains" Pakistan from producing such weapons—	States for its failure to restrain Pakistan's nuclear	
nd has accused the United States of violating the	ambitions.	
ymington Amendment, which provides for the cutoff		
f US assistance to any country importing technology	While seeking to exploit the nuclear issue with India,	
or unsafeguarded nuclear facilities.	the Soviets have shown occasional restraint—possibly	
Number its intense communication assists the Delaise.	because they do not want Indo-Pakistani friction to	
Ouring its intense campaign against the Pakistani	get out of control and do not want the Indians to	
program in mid-1987, the Soviet press elaborated on these themes. <i>Pravda</i> stated that the United States	activate their own nuclear weapons program. During a visit to India in the spring of 1987, when Indo-	
ad trained Pakistani nuclear physicists, delivered a	Pakistani tension was high, Soviet Communist Party	
uclear reactor to Pakistan, and "resorted to various	Secretary Anatoliy Dobrynin tried to calm Indian	
uses and illegal actions" to export nuclear technology	fears. According to press reports, he told a meeting of	
o Pakistan. It explained that the United States was	members of Parliament at an All-India Congress	
ndulging Pakistan because the latter serves as a	Committee reception that, although the Soviet Union	
bridgehead for the undeclared war against	shared India's general perceptions of threats in the	
Afghanistan" and because having an "obedient ally,	subcontinent, it did not agree with the "paranoia" of	
rmed to the teeth, and, moreover, possessing nuclear	the ruling Congress Party. In response to questions, he	
reapons fits well into US strategic plans in Asia."	specifically minimized the threat from Pakistan,	
	saying that the USSR was not aware of Pakistan's	
westing charged Washington with having passed	having a nuclear bomb.	
zvestiya charged Washington with having passed uclear technology to Pakistan and accused the	Outlook	
Leagan administration of having justified extending	The Soviets will continue to work to prevent Pakistan	
nilitary aid to Pakistan by assuring Congress that	from exploding a nuclear device and to focus attention	
akistan does not intend to create nuclear weapons—	on Washington's "complicity" in Pakistan's actions.	
ven though Pakistan refuses to give such assurances.	They will emphasize Pakistan's success in importing	
the article indicated that the administration has been	nuclear technology and materials, attributing this to	
eluctant to provide Congress with such assurances	US collusion. They will ignore US efforts to cut off	
nis year because it would be "laughable" and was	nuclear technology to Pakistan and US success in	
nerefore asking Congress to make an exception to the	obstructing some nuclear transactions.	
w banning military sales to nations pursuing a	T 130 at 1 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	
uclear weapons program.	In exploiting the nuclear issue, the Soviets will	
ha Indian Angla	continue to ignore Islamabad's rationale for its	
he Indian Angle oviet propaganda play on	nuclear program—that it is needed as a deterrent	
oviet propaganda play on play on play on play on play and play and		
omplement domestic pressure in India to reassess its		

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against India—as well as President Zia's claims that Pakistan does not intend to take the final step of assembling a weapon. To avoid antagonizing India, Moscow will not endorse Pakistani proposals for New Delhi and Islamabad to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty and accept full-scope safeguards, a nuclearfree zone, or other verification measures, despite Soviet endorsement of nuclear-free zones in other areas of the world. The Soviets presumably believe as do we—that India is not likely to accept any nuclear arrangement in the region that limits its options, even if this position leads to a nuclear-armed Pakistan. Moscow's failure to press India with respect to these issues strongly supports our belief that the Soviets are less concerned with nonproliferation than with exploiting the issue to gain additional leverage in South Asia, particularly in regard to the war in Afghanistan.

If the United States cuts aid to Pakistan as a result of Islamabad's nuclear procurement activities, the Soviets may soften their criticism, hoping to encourage Pakistan to alter its policy toward Afghanistan. If Pakistan should respond by backing away from the Afghan resistance, Moscow will be even more likely to seek improved relations with Islamabad to achieve movement toward a favorable political settlement in Afghanistan. Under these circumstances, Moscow probably will be less critical, publicly and privately, of Pakistan's nuclear program. To maintain its credibility with India, however, the Soviets will have to continue to counsel restraint in Islamabad. Should Pakistan test a nuclear device, the Soviets will feel compelled to protest strongly and to mount a propaganda campaign against Islamabad.

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Afghanistan: Insurgents Assess the Stinger		25X1
Afghan insurgents believe that the Stinger surface-to-air missile has had a significant impact on their war effort over the past 10 months. They perceive that the Stingers have helped to offset the Soviets' and Afghan regime's most effective counterinsurgency weapon—airpower. The insurgent belief that the Stinger is an effective air defense weapon has boosted resistance morale. Since Stinger-equipped insurgents first shot down aircraft in Afghanistan in September 1986, many insurgents have come to believe that they have a state-of-the-art weapon with which to effectively challenge Soviet airpower. even those groups that do not possess the Stinger have a more optimistic outlook on the resistance's prospects. Insurgent Reports of Stinger Effectiveness The insurgents consider the Stinger's shootdown rate, which they claim is over 70 percent, to be a key measure of the missile's overall effectiveness. Although that figure probably is exaggerated, other	insurgents said the withdrawal of Soviet air support for attacking ground forces helped turn the tide in that battle. In addition, insurgent reports indicate that possession of Stingers has affected air attacks on insurgent base camps and supply caravans. an insurgent base that had been frequently bombed by the Soviets was not attacked as often once Soviet forces realized the guerrillas had acquired Stingers. When the Soviets did conduct airstrikes, they used high-flying jets instead of attack helicopters, reducing the accuracy and effectiveness of the attacks. Using the Stinger The Stinger has some operational characteristics that make it more valuable in comparison with other air	25X1 25X1 25X1 25X1 25X1
sources indicate a sharp increase in Soviet and regime aircraft losses since the introduction of the Stinger.	 The missile is capable of engaging an aircraft either as it approaches or leaves the gunner's area. In contrast, the SA-7 is generally fired only at 	25 X 1
Furthermore, about half of the losses last year occurred in the last three months—following the introduction of the Stinger. According to the insurgents, the Stinger has helped to limit Soviet and regime air attacks during some	departing aircraft. • To date the Soviets evidently have been unable to develop a consistently reliable countermeasure. There are indications that Stinger attacks have not been regularly deterred by the infrared jammer being used in Afghanistan.	25X1 25X1
combat operations. They say that Soviet and regime combat aircraft often will retreat after one aircraft in an attack group is shot down or after the pilots see a Stinger fired. Soviet aircraft in one engagement immediately left the area when resistance forces fired Stingers, even though the targeted aircraft were clearly out of range. The	• The Stinger is a fire-and-forget weapon, whereas the Blowpipe requires the gunner to stay in an exposed position to guide the missile to the target.	25X1 25X1

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In our view, extensive training on the Stinger is a key factor in insurgent successes with the missile. The insurgents have obtained better results from the Stinger than the Pakistani military did in early 1986, almost certainly because of better training. The insurgents have employed the Stinger effectively in ambushes. In describing the tactic, insurgent forces say that a gunner will situate himself in an ideal firing location, such as close to an airfield. There he waits for proper weather conditions and a target that is well within the Stinger's acquisition range. Because of the advance preparations and the element of surprise, the	Outlook At least for the near term, the Stinger will continue to be a useful counter to Soviet airpower. The guerrillas probably hope that pilot concerns about the presence of the missile will have a multiplier effect, helping to inhibit combat airstrikes in areas where insurgent groups do not have Stingers. Because of the Stinger's successful operations for the better part of a year, the guerrillas almost certainly do not anticipate that the Soviets will soon have an effective and comprehensive counterweapon. Should the Soviets develop effective means of
Stinger gunner is more likely to achieve a shootdown. Soviet and Afghan regime forces have sought to foil ambushes by intensifying patrol activity near likely attack positions and by buttressing perimeter defenses around airfields, but resistance forces have managed to find and exploit weaknesses in these defenses.	countering the Stinger, the morale of the insurgents would be affected. But resistance groups probably would quickly resume tactics employed before the acquisition of the Stinger, seeking to avoid engagements in which Soviet airpower can be fully applied.
Insurgent groups also have learned to use the Stingers in conjunction with other antiaircraft weapons to increase the density and complexity of their air defenses. For instance, by deploying both the Stinger and antiaircraft heavy machineguns, the guerrillas believe that they are better able to destroy aircraft	applicu.

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altitude.

that fly below the Stinger's minimum effective

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Syria's Strengthening Coastal Defenses: Trying To Close the Back Door

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The bulk of the Syrian armed forces is positioned to face Israeli threats from the direction of the Golan Heights and Lebanon, and only in recent years has the Syrian regime revealed deep concern about its vulnerability to attacks launched along its relatively undefended northwestern front—the approximately 135-kilometer coastline between Lebanon and Turkey. Long the most neglected service in the Syrian military, the Syrian Navy has profited from Damascus's resolve to strengthen its coastal defenses as have the Air and Air Defense Forces and the Electronic Warfare Directorate. Despite new weapons acquisitions in place along the coast and an increase in the frequency and complexity of joint training between Syrian naval and air assets, Syria's ability to defend against air or naval attacks in the coastal area remains extremely limited—particularly if attacks were to occur with little warning or at night.

Syria's efforts to strengthen its coastal defenses continued throughout the summer of 1986, probably spurred by revelations in the Western press about the central role of Syrian intelligence in the terrorist Nizar Hindawi's bungled attempt on 17 April to bomb a crowded El Al jetliner in London

catalyst for expanded Syrian coastal defense training.

Syria almost certainly became acutely aware of its coastal defense weaknesses during the war in Lebanon in 1982, when Israeli amphibious landing forces inserted numerous armored vehicles and troops north of Palestinian concentrations along the southern Lebanese coast. Damascus could scarcely avoid concluding that in a future war the Israelis could divert Syrian troops from the principal battlefields on the Golan Heights and in Lebanon by opening a northern front along the Syrian coastline. Israel's use of amphibious landing forces in 1982 also evidently boosted Syria's interest in developing a similar capability. Although Soviet advisers had provided instruction on seaborne operations against Israel since Syria did not acquire its first amphibious landing ship until January

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Worldwide focus on the extent of Syrian statesupported terrorism, particularly since late 1985, has increased Damascus's longstanding fears that Israel would launch retaliatory airstrikes through Syria's relatively undefended coastal area and served as a

1984.

What Is at Stake?

Syria's most vulnerable front to Israeli attack—the coastal area—is home to virtually all of the country's most important economic installations and—of symbolic importance—is the birthplace of most of Syria's Alawi ruling elite. Syria's primary petroleum facilities are at Baniyas on the coast, where about half of the country's oil refinery operations are conducted. The other half of Syria's domestic refining capacity is at Hims, only about 70 kilometers inland. Baniyas and the port of Tartus also serve as Syria's only export and import facilities for petroleum products. Syria's largest thermal power plant is located in the Baniyas

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rea, and a second power plant is near Hamah, about		25
5 kilometers inland. Syria's major ports—Tartus and		
atakia—handle nearly all maritime traffic, and		
Tartus is the Syrian military's lifeline for Soviet military equipment deliveries. The mountainous area		
ust east of the coast is considered the Alawi		
eartland and contains Qardaha, the secluded		
ometown village of Syrian President Assad.		2
pgrading the Navy		
The Syrian Navy began to receive some long overdue		
ttention in 1984 as part of the Soviet rush to replace		
Syrian weaponry lost during the conflict in Lebanon		
n 1982 and to upgrade Syrian defenses. Although the		
Soviets' primary concern was to modernize Syria's Air and Air Defense Forces as well as to upgrade		
Syrian armored forces, they and the Syrians gradually		2
urned their attention to the lackluster Navy and		_`
weak coastal defenses. In addition, the Syrian Navy's		
omewhat improved status might have been due to the	1	.=
ppointment as naval commander in July 1984 of		2
Major General Tayyarah, an uncle of Syrian Vice President Khaddam		2
Tosidont Khaddam.		۷.
By early 1984, Syria had received two new coastal		
efense missile systems, the SSC-3 with a range of 90		
illometers, and the SSC-1B, which has a range of 335		
illometers. Syria also acquired its first amphibious	Co for in 1007 (1, 1	2/
anding ship, a Polish-built Polnocny—capable of arrying six tanks—and would receive two more a	So far in 1987, there has been less	25
ear later. In late 1985 the Soviets delivered two	years, possibly due to the same fuel constraints that	25
ging Romeo-class submarines	evidently have caused a sharp decline in this year's	2
		2
		2
	according to a Lebanese radio	,2
	report, in late July 1987 Syrian naval vessels conducted an amphibious landing exercise at Shikka Harbor, which is 13	Ż
	kilometers southwest of Tripoli, Lebanon.	2
		2: 2:
	Despite Israel's	2
	overwhelmingly superior coastal defense capabilities, the Syrian Navy probably nurtures the hope of being capable of launching	_
	seaborne commando operations against the Israeli coastline.	2
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ground forces training exercises. The MI-14 helicopters have operated farther offshore this year, however, indicating that they will eventually conduct over-the-horizon targeting for the coastal defense	
missiles.	25X ²
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L			25X1
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		Ground Forces in the Coastal Region	
•		Aside from the 11th Armored Division, which is headquartered in the Hims area, all of the Syrian	
		Army's regular divisions are stationed in the	
		Damascus area or just opposite the Golan Heights. The only armored unit stationed near the coast is the	
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826th Armored Regiment, equipped with T-55 tanks and probably subordinate to the coastal regional command. The Army has evidently shelved its plans—at least	timely Syrian response to an air attack launched along the Syrian coast include the ability of Syrian air defenses to identify hostile aircraft and their intent and warn the appropriate interceptor squadrons and surface-to-air missile batteries.	
temporarily—to create two new armored divisions—the 17th and 18th—in northwestern Syria.	surface-to-air missile batteries.	
Their designated areas of operation suggest they would have been responsible for defending against a seaborne invasion by armored		
forces and against an attack mounted from Turkey. This year, with the usually insulated military suffering unprecedented budget cuts, the Army has almost certainly been compelled to postpone plans for the new divisions.	Syrian installations in the coastal area remain particularly vulnerable to ship-launched missile attacks, in part because the coastal defense missile brigade probably has only a limited capability to target ships that are over the horizon. Syrian Haze	
Outlook	helicopters probably will become more active in providing over-the-horizon targeting data, a role the	
Despite recent improvements and remedial efforts, Syrian coastal defenses almost certainly could not prevent an Israeli airstrike from damaging or	Romeo submarines might also eventually assume.	
destroying key economic and military installations. Syrian President Assad's resolve to increase coastal defense preparedness—as a result partly of the airspace violation last November—suggests, however,		

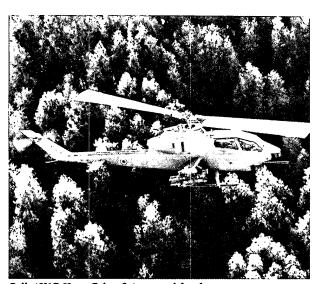
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Israel: Expanding Role		
for Attack Helicopters		25X1
		20/(1
Israeli military planners have substantially redefined	Pilot training in the years preceding the Israeli	
and expanded the battlefield mission for the attack	invasion of Lebanon, therefore, emphasized tactics	
helicopter force on the basis of its past successful	intended to facilitate neutralizing enemy air defenses	
performance in Lebanon and during recently modified	and improving offensive counterair capabilities and	
training. In a future war Israel's attack helicopters	strategic interdiction techniques. Coordinated air and	
will probably play a decisive role in the air-to-ground	ground training was scant, reflecting the view that the	
arena, particularly in close air support, thus partly	use of sophisticated, high-performance aircraft in	
supplanting the more conventional use of strike-fighter aircraft in such operations.	close air support was not cost effective. Despite Israeli efforts to implement more rigorous combat pilot	0EV4
ngitter aircraft in such operations.	training procedures to remedy this deficiency, close	25 X 1
The attack helicopter emerged on the Middle Eastern	air support continues to be a low priority for the air	
scene following the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, during	force—indicating that real improvement will come	
which fierce tank battles exacted heavy armor losses	only through the deliberate application and innovative	
on both sides. Armed with the latest in antitank	tactical use of the attack helicopter.	25X1
weaponry, the attack helicopter seemed an ideal	Tomordon Trock of LTC 44 4	
acquisition for both Arab and Israeli commanders seeking an alternative means for destroying enemy	Inventory Trends and Limitations Israel's attack helicopter inventory	051/4
tanks. Moreover, the impressive showing of the attack	will grow slowly to about	25X1 25X1
helicopter by both Israel and Syria during Israel's	the end of the 1990s, in our judgment. A	25 X 1
invasion of Lebanon in 1982 validated the role of	reduced defense budget imposed by economic	
attack helicopters in supporting ground operations	austerity measures and uncertainty over the fate of	
and highlighted their potential for influencing the	the Lavi fighter aircraft program—Israel's top air	
battle's outcome much as tanks have done in the past.	procurement item—have virtually halted expansion of	051/4
	the attack helicopter fleet, according to Consequently, acquisition of the advanced	25X1 25X1
Faulty Air Doctrine	US AH-64 Apache helicopter is likely to be postponed	20/(1
Israel's growing reliance on the attack helicopter to	indefinitely until a decision on the Lavi is made or	
perform ground support missions has resulted from	unless the United States offers Israel a dramatically	
the poor performance of fixed-wing aircraft in this	more favorable repayment schedule. Canceling the	
capacity during the 1982 Lebanon war, according to	Lavi fighter would release substantial funds to the	25V1
Errors in target identification undermined efforts to provide close air	defense budget and would almost certainly result in	25 X 1
support, often resulting in the strafing and bombing of	purchase of the advanced AH-64 attack helicopter.	25X1
Israeli troops. In one instance, Israeli planes attacked		23/1
an Israeli armored battalion, leaving 75 dead and		25X1
wounded.		25 X 1
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		25X1
		25X1

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Bell AHIS Huey Cobra flying patrol for the Israel Defense Force

IAF Magazin

Barring private-sector arrangements, the Israelis will concentrate over the next several years on improving the quality of their existing attack helicopter fleet, which includes both heavy and light attack helicopters. Older models will receive modern components to ensure continued combat effectiveness. By careful maintenance of helicopter subsystems the Israelis will aim to prolong the life of the equipment and sustain the combat readiness of the force.

estimates that

Israel has 40 Bell AH-1S Cobra heavy attack helicopters, which are based on an older technology



Israel's light attack helicopter, the Hughes 500 MD Defender

Jane's

compared to that of the AH-64 Apache. The AH-1S Cobra is armed with up to eight TOW antitank missiles, a three-barrel 20-mm cannon in the chin turret, as well as 40-mm grenade launchers, rockets, and bombs.

Thirty Hughes 500 MD Defenders and two captured, refurbished Syrian SA 342L/Gazelles constitute

Israel's light attack helicopter fleet, according to

The Hughes 500 MD

Defender is less capable than the Cobra because it is armed with only four TOW antitank missiles. The Gazelle helicopters are capable of delivering both the French HOT and AS11/12 antitank missiles.

The threat of hostilities with Syria, terrorist activity against Israeli forces in southern Lebanon, and the relative peace prevailing along Israel's southern border as a result of the peace treaty with Egypt will lead Israel to point its attack helicopter fleet toward the north for the foreseeable future

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ploiting the Attack Helicopter Potential		25)
aeli strategists consider the attack helicopter to be		
vivotal element in their ability to mount a briting or a ground operation to blunt an		
tial Syrian thrust to reclaim the Golan Heights—		25>
ticularly during the crucial 24 to 36 hours Israel		
eds to mobilize its reserves. To this end, Israeli litary commanders have placed considerable		
phasis on developing a superior helicopter warfare		
pability capitalizing on the advantages of the attack		
icopter while minimizing its vulnerability to avily armed ground vehicles and enemy attack		
icopters		25)
		25)
		25)
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	Prospects	25)
	The attack helicopter has proved to be a highly	
	mobile, maneuverable, and lethal weapon system	25)
	ideally suited to support Israel's concept of an armored war of movement.	OEN
	armored war or movement.	25) 25)
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	By comparison, Syrian attack helicopter training has	
	progressed little beyond the basic maneuvers needed for close air support. In the final outcome, the	25
	rudimentary skills of the Syrian pilots will continue to	20,
	be no match for their Israeli counterparts.	25)
	Economic austerity, however, has proved to be a	
	double-edged sword for Israel's attack helicopter	
	fleet. On the one hand, the helicopter's cost	
	effectiveness has made it increasingly attractive for executing missions previously reserved for high-	
	performance aircraft—which are extremely expensive	

to replace. On the other hand, a scaled-down defense budget and a continued costly commitment to the Lavi fighter have curtailed procurement of muchneeded additional attack helicopters—either for replacement or modernization purposes. Without major acquisitions of attack helicopters, especially advanced models like the US AH-64 Apache, the Israeli military will find it increasingly difficult to incorporate an aging helicopter fleet into its ambitious plans for the future.

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